/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 241 31 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulʿwān, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

182 241 311 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 311 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, cultivations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there, 241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are 233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plã or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, $\text{agg}^{\text{w}}$mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba[C], Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./
233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
(311) the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
133 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the
233 mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseb[C] plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
(114) shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

[Ait Mh'nd]

241 /180 cont./
233 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm, and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

## Livestock Breeding

233 221 [361] [184] From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters, one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder, mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig$^{w}$mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

## Dry Crops

241 31 [243] [132] If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing, 311 [103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh$^{w}$mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlil̈n, Anrar$^{w}$-Waman, Naẗjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag$^{w}$d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and, doubt-
[578] lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag$^{w}$ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu$^{w}$wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

## [Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, aḳder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg$^{w}$erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi$^{w}$Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 613 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 423 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very [103] clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and pre-existent material.

/197/ Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 $m^2$ on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 794 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig$^{w}$rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 31 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-teg$^{w}$rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m$^2$. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and [794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. [103] Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two a., as at Z'init'. [243] Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper level stretch. [592] Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Bul$^{c}$wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul$^{c}$wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Besseba$^{c}$, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzūyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul$^{c}$wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul$^{c}$wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul$^{c}$wân]

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul$^{c}$wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul$^{c}$wân

241 311 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order): [103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

# [Bul$^{c}$wân]

/213 cont./

241 311 103 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâïd. These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u $^{c}$Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâïd, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâïd, Ichkajen, a. L$^{c}$anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 312 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called imçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy. [103]

312 178 [624] The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of all the ait Âbdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul$^{c}$wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul$^{c}$wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5 ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the [624]

/411 cont./

311 182 423 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object: it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neighbors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 182 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

/13 cont./
133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

•311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
361 Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
[443] ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
311 merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
241 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/. Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal movements is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- Whatever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Alt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
•311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
•311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït
Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
"Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on
the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
"taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
it can happen that political events that took place on the north
versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution